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JUST REMEMBER IT !

TWO brothers, one seven and the other nine years of age, set out early last Saturday afternoon to see the Santa Claus of a local departmental store arriving at the station. They saw Santa, but they had strayed far from home and were lost. They wandered about the streets all afternoon. It was a bitterly cold day, you will recall. Around supper-time they got a temporary warmth in a store where they spend a few cents their mother had given them. Then they started wandering again for hours, the younger boy crying with cold, fatigue and hunger, the elder, suffering himself, trying to keep up the courage of his brother. The streets were busy, but no one heeded them. Timid appeals to passers-by, and once to a policeman boarding a car, fell on careless ears. Late at night the youngest boy was so exhausted that he could move no further. They had started from the east-end and they were now in the west-end amongst the many comfortable homes that surely would (most of them, anyway) have opened their doors if only those within had known about the weary travellers outside in the frost and the tearing wind.

The older boy took his little brother on his knee in a doorway. Soon he thought his brother was asleep. All through the night the elder brother sat with his burden. On Sunday morning a young woman saw the two boys clasped together. She could not waken them, and she called the ambulance. Both children were unconscious, and the younger boy soon died, the result of exposure and frost-bite. The elder revived sufficiently to tell the story, but is unconscious again and not likely to live.

The tale needs no adornment. Just let it sink in for Christmas.

—Kennedy Crone.

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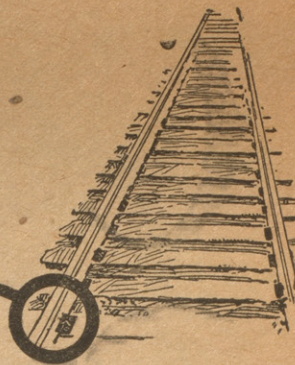
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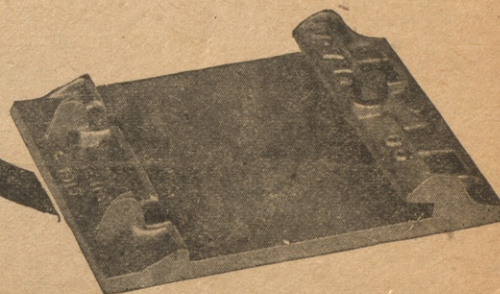
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CUT PROFITS AND USE MORE BRAINS BEFORE TRYING TO CUT WAGES

(By HENRY FORD)

WE HEAR a great deal of talk to-day about "getting back to normal," but seldom does anyone try to tell us what "normal" is. The very form of words used—"getting back"—would seem to indicate that our former condition was the "normal" one, and our present condition the abnormal one. Applying it to the present times, the phrase "getting back" would probably mean getting back to conditions as they were before the war. But everyone knows that conditions before the war were no more normal than they are now.

What we probably mean is this: We ought to find the normal method and balance of life, and build from that.

It is, of course, a big question; but tasks are not necessarily difficult because they are big. Sailing across the ocean is only an extension of sailing across a pond; the difference is that the man who first sailed across the ocean, had an ocean-wide vision, instead of a pond-wide one. The first is as easy as the second, once you see it and know it.

Now, what concerns the majority of people to-day is not the great big question of reaching normal in the whole social system, but how to reach normal on the bread-and-butter side of life; how to get rid of the "high cost of living"; how to have the necessities of food, fuel, shelter and clothing easily within reach. The pocketbook is the only book from which most people can study economics, and after all is said and done, every system of economics must pass muster at the pocketbook of the humblest family.

So, to state it most simply, it becomes a question of prices: what you can get and what you must give. Making a living is our first business.

If prices are to come down—and that is the final proof to the people and their pocket-books that things are turning in their favor—something else must come down.

A few months ago some people were talking about wages coming down first. But there is absolutely no reason why one group should stand the first cut, instead of another group. Besides, there is something sacred about wages: they represent homes and families and domestic destinies. People ought to tread very carefully there. On the cost sheet, wages are mere figures: out in the world, wages are bread boxes and coal bins, babies' cradles and children's education, family comforts and contentment.

On the other hand, there is something just as sacred about capital which is used to provide the means by which work shall be made possible and productively managed. Nobody is helped if our industries are sucked dry of their life-blood. There is something just as sacred about a shop that employs thousands of men as there is about a home. The shop is the mainstay of all the finer things which the home represents. If we want the home to be happy, we must contrive to keep the shop busy. The whole justification of the profits made by the shop is that they are used to make doubly secure the homes dependent on that shop, and to create more jobs for other men. The only legitimate use of capital is to open more productive opportunities for more men. If profits merely go to swell a personal fortune, that is one thing; if they go to provide a sounder basis for business, better working conditions, better wages, more extended employment—that is quite another thing. Capital thus employed should not be carelessly tampered with. It is for the service of all, though it may be under the direction of one.

But it was a question where to begin. Some one had to begin. Very many were willing to have the beginning made with the men in the shop. But there is no reason whatever why the beginning should not be made elsewhere. Why not begin with profits? Profits belong to three places: they belong to the business, to keep it steady, progressive and sound. They belong to the men who helped produce them. And they belong also, in part, to the public.

A successful business is profitable to all three of these interests — planner, producer and purchaser. People, whose profits were excessive when measured by any sound standard, should have been the first to cut prices. But they were not. They had passed all their extra costs down the line; the whole burden was borne by the consumer; and besides doing that, they had charged the consumer a percentage on the increased charges. Their whole business philosophy is, "get while the getting is good." They

are the speculators, the exploiters, the no-good element that is always injuring legitimate business. There was nothing to be expected from them because they have no vision. They cannot see beyond their own cash register.

But pressure can be brought to bear on them by legitimate business men taking the initiative and making a sacrifice for the sake of forcing the illegitimate business men out of business or into decent practices. Some people, however, can talk more easily about a 10 or 20 per cent. cut in wages than they can about a 10 or 20 per cent. cut in profits. But a business man, surveying the whole community in all its interests and wishing to serve that community by helping it to get back to easier and more dependable conditions, ought to be able to make this contribution to stability. In doing so, he is repaying the public for its confidence in him during the past.

It must be understood that high prices do not always mean profiteering. Some manufacturers are doubtless deterred from taking a forward step by the feeling that if they cut prices it will be a confession that their former prices represented profiteering. And, as they cannot give the explanation that material and labor charges have come down, they are at a loss to know how a price cut can be explained.

Every manufacturer knows that labor and material prices have not come down, and many honest manufacturers know that their prices until now have not represented profiteering; yet this is the very class, who, because of their business honesty and ability, are the ones called upon to lead the movement for a better deal all round. To do so, will mean perhaps a temporary loss; it will mean in any case a suspension of profits. But it must be done, and some one must do it. It is the right thing to do, and who can lose by doing a right thing?

One thing we must learn, and price reduction will force us to learn it more quickly than anything else could, and that is, improved and less wasteful methods of production. One big part of the discovery of what is "normal" in industry depends on managerial genius discovering better ways of doing things. If a man reduces his selling price to a point where he is making no profit or incurring a loss, then he simply is forced to discover how to make as good an article by a better method—making his new method produce the profit, and not producing a profit out of reduced wages or increased prices to the public. It is not good management to take profits out of the workers or the buyers; make management produce the profits. Don't cheapen the product; don't cheapen the wage; don't overcharge the public; but put brains into the method, and more brains, and still more brains—do thing better than ever before; and by this means all parties to business are served and benefited.

We have been too much at the mercy of circumstances. We have talked of "good times" and "bad times" as if they were the weather over which we have had no control. It is true we have had too little control over them, because of the speculative group at the top who has always aimed to keep industry in control by Credit. But when a business stands on its own feet, lives by merit, is built up by fair dealing, and gives a wide berth to the Gold Gamblers, it tends to control the "times" and keep them "good."

We can take the initiative and make things better, or we can just go along and let happen what will.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES TO TAKE ACTION IN HIGGINS' DISCHARGE. (Canadian Labor Press, Ottawa.)

Division Number 4 of the Canadian Railroad Employees Brotherhood, which represents the mechanical trades unions and is regarded as a fighting organization, will take action over the discharge of an employee without investigation by President D. B. Hanna, of the Canadian National Railways, a violation of the wage agreement between the C. N. R. and Division No. 4, according to a communication to a local trades unionist from Charles Dickie, secretary of Division No. 4, with reference to the case of James Higgins, Soldier-Labor candidate in the Northeast Toronto by-election, which took place Monday. Mr. Higgins was an employee of the C. N. R. and claims that he was compelled to resign his railway position because of his candidature for the Legislature.

We have not reached a "normal condition" yet. It is not back of us, it is still before us, and we never will reach it until we have discovered just what normality is. We can take the first step now. We can make adjustments at those points where the pressure is hardest. There is always something we can do, and by doing what we can do now, the way will be opened for greater things to do. The principal pressure to-day is at the point of "price." The pressure there can be relieved. It is better to decrease profits for a constructive purpose, than to have them decreased by a slackening of business. Besides, it will be an incentive to better methods of production. We are not at the mercy of uncontrollable economic currents; we are dependent entirely on our own brains for management.

Organized Labor of Montreal Urged Advisory Board Plan Before Tariff Commission

ON WEDNESDAY afternoon of this week the official view of the organized labor movement in Montreal on the tariff question was presented to the Tariff Commission, which is now holding its sessions in this city. The Commission was composed of: Sir Henry Drayton, Chairman; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor; and Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General. The declaration of organized labor was made by Mr. J. T. Foster, President of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, in the following terms:—

In presenting the views of organized labor in the city of Montreal, the largest industrial district in Canada, employing the greatest number of workmen, we the Committee of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, acting in conjunction with the railway employees, desire to go on record as reiterating the attitude we have taken before the Industrial Relations Commission in 1919 where we advocated the creation of a permanent Advisory Tariff Board. We desire to emphasize that we have reached conclusions only after complete investigation, much research and a great number of consultations. Due to an energetic campaign conducted by the Potters Union of St. Johns to determine the attitude of the trades unions on this question, a strong resolution was adopted by the unions throughout the country, strengthened by resolutions passed by twenty-three trades councils and finally by the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress at Windsor. All these resolutions earnestly requested the Government to appoint a permanent Board. These endorsements are in the hands of the Vice-President of the Provincial Executive and may be seen at any time.

In logical sequence we propose to explain:—

First: Why we request a Tariff Board.

Second: Precisely what sort of Board we propose, elaborating its function and organization.

Third: We shall aim to demonstrate the intimate relation of the tariff to the life of the worker.

Fourth: We shall enumerate our reasons for dissatisfaction with the present system of tariff making.

Fifth: We shall give reasons to show the beneficent effect of a permanent Tariff Board upon the lives of the workers.

Sixth: We shall generalize that great stability and steadiness of employment would follow the institution of a permanent Tariff Board.

Seventh: We shall unreservedly give our opinions concerning present-day free trade agitation with relation to industry, with its consequent peril to the trades unionist.

Why We Request a Tariff Board.

With each oncoming election for many years past, the tariff has been the prominent issue. No class has suffered greater vicissitudes from this fact than the trade unionist. To influence the vote of the work-

er, we find that the same methods obtained in many past elections. We are aware that the highest political tension is created by extensive advertising through the newspapers, the bill-boards and innumerable pamphlets, through every device of the modern political machine, to strike fear into our hearts, fear for our jobs, fear for the future of our children. We are confronted with the horrors of unemployment. We are told that unless the protectionist party is successful industry will stagnate and unemployment will be rife. These campaigns have been known to the workers as the "full or fool dinner pail" campaigns.

On the other hand, the free trader group, and they blossom into bloom at each election, paint vivid pictures of great reductions in the necessary commodities of life. We have known them for many years as the "free soupers." As between the two millstones the dilemma of the worker is at once apparent. To be able to secure the necessities of life at a great reduction is a great temptation for the voter, while the prospect of being jobless is bitterly distressing. Confronted by such danger he chooses the lesser of two evils, but not before he has been made the target of energetic campaigning. To eliminate the practice of such politics upon the lives of Canadian workmen, we earnestly advocate the establishment of a permanent scientific Tariff Board which will carefully select the data and make recommendations founded upon research and fact, and so give to each industry without further political excitement, but with the calm sound sense of science, that measure of protection which will enable the industry not only to prosper, but also to expand and develop to the end that the greater number of Canadian workmen may be given remunerative and steady employment.

The Kind of Board We Advocate.

While we realize that our statesmen are better fitted to devise the exact kind of Board which would be most suited to Canadian requirements, yet our suggestions may not be entirely out of place. We are inclined to lean strongly to the American system, because it has been tried in the fire, and further because through much valuable experience many practical difficulties have been solved. In our opinion, then, such a Board should have as its chairman the foremost scientific economist in the Dominion. The

chairman should be assisted by one ripened in business and financial experience, who might be designated as a commercialist. The addition of a representative of labor supplemented by the addition of a representative for the merchants and the farmer groups would complete the Board. We are, moreover, of the opinion that this body could be supplemented with a sub-committee whose members would be appointed by the groups most intimately concerned with the tariff. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, representing the workers, could appoint a representative, likewise the manufacturers and the farmers. It would be the function of the members of the sub-committee to supply the Board with practical facts and to protest where abuses existed. Such a combination as we suggest, would, in our opinion, do much towards stabilizing industry and promoting general prosperity in the Dominion.

Relation of the Tariff to the Life of the Workers.

There is no subject of such vital importance to the life of the Canadian workmen as the tariff question. We are widely awake to the fact that we depend for our existence upon the development and expansion of the Canadian industrial establishment. We consider that it is our heritage, our inalienable right, as citizens of the Dominion, to build our homes and to plan for the future in the rearing of our families on Canadian soil. We believe that it is the duty of our Government to so manage our fiscal policy that the Canadian workmen will not be compelled through idleness in industry to migrate to foreign lands to find employment and earn his living. To eliminate this ever-present risk the stabilization of industry is imperatively important. We do not feel secure in the uncertainty of political elections. A fiscal policy might come into effect of such disastrous dimensions that Canadian industry would be shattered, scattering our Canadian workmen to the winds. We therefore advise a permanent Tariff Board, preferring to place our dependence upon science and research than upon the political fortunes of any political party. Such a Board would guarantee justice to all. Where it was found that an industry was insufficiently protected in order to thrive, the tariff could be raised. Where it was found that an industry was using its protection in an abusive manner, the tariff could be lowered. When it became apparent to the investigators that an industry was pursuing its business to the disadvantages of all Canadians, the tariff could be removed and free trade instituted. Whatever the adjustments from time to time, it is certain that there could be no great national explosion,



Wash Day and Backache

WASH day is the least welcome day of the week in most homes, though sweeping day is not much better. Both days are most trying on the back.

The strain of washing, ironing and sweeping frequently deranges the kidneys. The system is poisoned and backaches, rheumatism, pains in the limbs result.

Kidney action must be aroused—the liver awakened to action and the bowels regulated by such treatment as Dr. Chase's Kidney-Liver Pills. This favorite prescription of the well-known Receipt Book author will not fail you in the hour of need.

One pill a dose, 25c a box at all dealers, or Edmanson, Bates & Co., Ltd., Toronto.

Dr. Chase's Kidney-Liver Pills

hurling industry as a whole into atoms and wrecking the lives of hundreds of thousands of our people.

Reasons for Dissatisfaction With the Present System.

The whole matter can be summed up in this way. Each election causes contraction of business, which is followed by unemployment, which in turn plunges us into debt. We contend that the American system of a permanent Tariff Board utterly eliminates this senseless and interminable suffering—interminable because with each election the tragedy is re-enacted.

Effects of the Tariff Board Upon the Life of the Workers.

If a Board such as we advocate were instituted the workman would enjoy greater security. He would be able to plan his future, to build his home. He would not be forever blinded by the one great issue of the tariff. He would be able to educate himself on great national problems and vote much more intelligently on national issues which would insure a greater measure of enlightened legislation in matters of national importance.

Steadiness of Employment.

If labor is to prosper, if the ambitions of the working men are to be (Continued on next page.)

realized, the one great essential is the decasualization of labor, steadiness of employment. This object can never be attained unless the industrial interests of the Dominion are relieved from the dangers of political tariff elections. No industries can be expected to expand and develop, to spend great sums of money in extension of plant, unless they are assured of the future on the tariff question. There can be no such assurance as long as tariff elections hover over them. A Tariff Board of an advisory nature would entirely eliminate this campaigning.

The Present Situation.

Just at present we are in the usual dilemma of tariff excitement. There is a great contraction in industry. There is spreading unemployment. The plans are unfolding for a real tariff conflict. We view the western campaign for indiscriminate tariff reduction and for free trade with considerable alarm. We protest that our connection with industry is much more intimate than that of the western farmer. Many of us have worked in American industries. We realize the vastness of their wealth, their tremendous industrial organization, their huge commercial ramifications. By experience we have learned to appreciate the comparative development of Canadian with American and foreign industries. We fully realize that Canadian industry needs to be protected exactly the same as American industries have been protected if we are to be in a position to compete, but we desire that the method of applying protection shall be scientific, based upon calm research and free from a political tinge.

We admit and declare that the tariff cannot be taken out of politics, that the fiscal policy is an affair of the Government, and we assert that the institution of an advisory scientific Tariff Board is not an infringements, it is not an usurpation, of the powers of Government, because it merely gathers data, conducts the research, advises with the Government and makes a recommendation. There is no need of a political furore to convince us of these facts. We do not intend to destroy the industries of Canada which have been built by the labor of our hands. On the contrary, it is our heartfelt wish to see them expand and grow. We simply believe that there is a much better way than the political campaign way to determine exactly what measure of protection our industry needs in order that it may reach its maximum development, employ the greatest number of Canadian workmen, maintain wages and offer a higher standard of living, and so bring prosperity to all Canadians. For those reasons we request the Government to earnestly consider our recommendation for a permanent advisory Tariff Board.

"An actress in preparing herself for the stage reverses all the usual rules of art."

"How so?"

"She paints first and draws afterward."—Baltimore American.

Better Be Safe Than Sorry

(JAMES "PITCHFORK" HENDERSON,
in *Machinists' Journal*)

THE Journal printed a timely article on "The One Big Union," written by Brother E. H. Misner, of San Francisco. It was timely and tactful, for the spirit of the times demands radical changes in our present mode of organization and operation. The remembrance of the ascent and descent of the Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union appears before us like the skulls and bleached bones of those who tried crossing Death Valley without previous knowledge of the territory and its climatic conditions; nevertheless the living today profit by the sacrifices and sufferings of the dead.

The Knights of Labor and the American Railway Union were purely American enterprises. Up to the day of their birth and decease there had been no international exchanges with European labor movements. Truly can it be said that came as the result of capitalistic oppression and the thoughtless indifference of the skilled trades for the unskilled.

Many of the existing unions of 1869 styled themselves conservatives. When Uriah Smith, a garment worker of Philadelphia, with others, organized the Noble Order of Knights of Labor, 1870, the move was classed as revolutionary by thinkers of the day, and the same opinion was held of its successor, the Knights of Labor, in 1873. (The machinists' craft played an important part in organizing and directing the K. of L.) John McBride, the only man who ever defeated President Gompers for the presidency of the A. F. of L., holding the office for one year, has often told the writer of the ridicule and criticism that were heaped upon the head of Mr. Gompers when he, in 1880, began to lay the foundation for the American Federation of Labor, and we should remember that this achievement entailed three years of hard labor with no recompense for the promoter.

The American Railway Union exemplified "direct action," and the court crushed its power with "direct action" with the issuance of that infamous weapon, "government by injunction." The leaders of the A. R. U. served prison sentences and all remember the names of the prisoners, but few the name of the judge who sentenced them, and who afterwards died in ignominy. There are thousands of workers who lost their jobs over this disastrous strike, but I have failed to ever hear one of them denounce the spirit that moved them into class-conscious action. The A. R. U. was made up of men who had served the cause at its birth. Many of them were members of the railroad brotherhoods, but they came into contact with the unorganized workers in and around Pullman, that paternal cradle of our present-day system of "welfare work" (or hell-fare, as the workers term it). The spirit of class solidarity swept the

country in the railroad world when the General Managers' Association issued its industrial death warrant (application for employment accompanied by record dating back five years with photograph of applicant attached). The workers lost their individual selfish and jealous tendencies when the capitalists made a general attack upon the workers.

I am reminded of a picture entitled "The Deluge," the beasts of the forest are marooned on a small island surrounded by a rising torrent of water. They appear to be crouching toward the centre of the island. Those who see the picture will conclude that danger makes even the animal world forget its natural instincts, and so with mankind, the fire and flood wipe away all color, creed and national lines, adversity brings comradeship. This was true with the A. R. U. Class it, if you will, as the spirit of emotionalism, but scientists only guess at the cause for volcanic eruptions, and the economists and publicists do likewise with social eruptions. Ask a victim of the cause for causes, and he will recite an indictment against our modern system of society that will assure the inquirer that labor will by evolutionary periods fan in flame the spirit of the A. R. U. that lives to-day in the hearts of its militant heroes.

Those who advance the principle of "amalgamation," fail to realize and remedy the fickleness of humanity. When the A. S. E. Metal Trades Industrial Union in Great Britain advanced to a degree of power, individuals who had in the past willingly submerged their personality for the common good, demanded recognition, and when they failed to gain recognition they started unions of their own. The eighteenth century saw an epidemic of the same which worked to the advantage of the employers, as it kept the workers fighting among themselves for advantage and power. To-day we find the A. S. E. has weathered the storm with one of its bitterest internal critics at the helm. Stranger still, many of the reactionaries of the past are the progressives of to-day, while the British parliamentarians of to-day were the extreme radicals of yesterday.

The word "outlaw" is a misnomer, when we consider that capitalism considers the working class movement "an unlawful conspiracy." I am using the term in a sense of rebellion against any sign of taxation without representation, yet failure to obtain endorsement of certain policies should not merit sedition, or surrender of membership.

We find that the "outlaw" railroad strikers are holding enthusiastic meetings, but they are not on the job or on the picket lines and in some instances we have found them on some job where our members were striking for better conditions, and the only excuse they could

offer was, "Well, why don't you come out and help us win?" We find the so-called "outlaws" taking struck positions in other railroad yards. Instead of a strike we find a "labor turnover," with a result that many of them become voteless, which is to the liking of the capitalists, especially as we are on the verge of a presidential election. The "outlaws" are not class-conscious. We have seen them proposing to deliver the "labor vote" to the enemies of labor.

History repeats itself. The Switchmen's Union, a product of the A. R. U. strike, has (according to press reports) turned its contracts over to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. While its demise is a lamented one, it seems to be the natural order of things. Washington, D. C., reports "that a delegation headed by John Grunau, of the Chicago Yardmen's Association, arrived in Washington for a conference with the Labor Department officials." The report goes on to say: "These men desire to return to work and are here to obtain advice on the best method of procedure to obtain their desires." I am forced to admit that revolutions outside of labor's ranks do not in the main revolutionize to any degree of moral stability, basing my claims on these two instances.

A paragraph of our Association platform reads as follows: "To adopt and carry out a plan of organization with other crafts with the ultimate purpose of amalgamating all metal trades, thereby eliminating strikes of one organization at a time, and by such concerted action all reap the full benefit of their labor."

When I hear the various branches of our industry demanding personal recognition through separated locals, such as the auto mechanics, the tool makers, needles trades and others, with a vivid remembrance of our failure to convince the tool room department of our railroad systems that a "differential rate" was an impossibility, according to decisions handed down by the boards, I am convinced that we have not yet reached a stage of development that will allow this Association to enforce an amalgamation policy, to the detriment of other metal trades. Empires have crushed smaller nations and obliterated national lines, but the war proved that nothing will ever eradicate national instincts. All life matter takes on a dignity or social pride. We may ridicule caste, but we find it with princes and paupers, Christians and criminals.

Everything that lives wants to be seen. The painter who produced the masterpiece lived by painting little "pot boilers" (cheap paintings). Few who gazed upon the final work of art gave one thought to the things that supported the artist and made his triumph possible. So with this labor movement that we are part of, let us weigh well the future by past experiences and unprofitable experiments, believing that "it is better to be safe than sorry."

Solving Labor Troubles by Advertising

First of All, the "Goods Sold" Must Be Honest.—Remember That Workmen Are Primarily a Part of the Big General Public.

(By SAMUEL CROTHER, in *Printers Ink*, New York)

IT was an ingenious soul who discovered that the working man might be made extremely satisfied with his lot, and give up a certain penchant for high wages and little work with an occasional strike for vacation just to vary the monotony, if only his place in the community and the uncommon fair-mindedness of his employer were sold to him by advertising. The idea is not without its appeal to the "busy executive."

A lot of problems have been taken off his hands by skilled advertising. A reasonable number of sales difficulties have been overcome by the extensive use of the printed word. So why not apply the same methods to labor?

"The trouble with the working man," so goes the appeal, "is that he does not understand his place in the community. He is being continually urged away from his work by agitators, so why not urge him back to his work by advertising?"

On this plea, coupled as it sometimes is with what is called Americanization, some hundreds of projects are being offered to the executive who employs any considerable number of workmen. And, sometimes, where no one in the community seems to have quite enough money to go through with the entire plan, it is being sold on a community basis.

Some of this advertising is good; most of it is not only bad in that it does not and cannot produce the promised results, but also it may easily tend to make critical a situation which has latent in it very grave forces. The re-action to untruth is commonly violent. The man who thinks he has been buncoed is apt to think lightly of the obligations of citizenship. If he has been mentally shanghaied he wants revenge.

On the other hand, it may be that the advertiser is only buncoing himself. It does not help the advertiser somewhat blatantly to proclaim himself a fool. That, for instance, was the situation of the Government in labor matters during the war. Someone conceived the notion that there was a shortage of labor, and experts and statistics were at hand to prove the truth of the assertion. The experts provided the statistics. Up until that moment we had never had any experts in labor statistics, but apparently they were dropped on the planet during the night. Or perhaps they were gifted somnambulists whom somebody forgot to awaken. But, anyway, at once we had a labor shortage, and it became necessary, by extensive advertising, to inform all the able-bodied men of the country not actually with the colors that they would be con-

tributing a splendid measure of public service by working in the shipyards and in the munition factories in return for more money than they had ever before thought was in the world.

Was it a Case of Overselling?

I believe that it is declared by those somewhat close to the subject that we could not have won the war had not the workmen been assembled by the patriotic appeal of advertising. The thought suggests itself that it is not difficult to persuade a human being to accept a large amount of money for a small amount of work. The war advertising undoubtedly sold to the workmen the advantages of that sort of a job. It pinched him and told him that he was not dreaming—that easy money was here in the flesh. Also it promoted in him the spirit of adventure and led him about from job to job so that he might survey the beauties of the country and the varied magnificencies of the wages that the Government had provided at various points of the journey.

The Government advertising on labor during the war did not fail. It was a great success, in one way of thinking. It rang the bell, but the wrong bell, because at the beginning it did not know what bell it wanted to ring. It went forward on the assumption that the workman had to be persuaded to work for the winning of the war—that he was naturally unpatriotic. The wage offerings followed the same idea. So, what the advertising really did was to convince the people of the country that the Government was not only an easy mark, but pitifully pleading to be taken in.

It is a similar lack of visualization that makes most labor advertising today utterly ridiculous. Commonly, it is without information on these two really controlling points:

- (1) Is there a worth-while labor policy to sell?
- (2) To whom is it to be sold?

The best salesman and the best advertising are always in the goods. No one in these days questions that advertising cannot be both reputable and effective unless that which it seeks to sell is reputable and useful. There is a distinction between advertising and hot air. Therefore it follows that without a carefully considered and wholly fair labor policy there is nothing to advertise. And if in spite of that fact, advertising is resorted to, then its effect will be to convince the men that the management is endeavoring to take a crooked advantage of them. It gets into the class of oil stock promotion.

It is quite impossible here to define what is fair labor policy. There is no one universal policy

that can be standardized and adopted everywhere. Fairness is a question of circumstances, but it can be said with absolute accuracy that any labor policy formulated merely with respect to its good selling qualities is bad. And not only that, but an eminently fair and admirable labor policy may fail to function if it is considered as an advertising asset. It is the most dangerous thing in the world for a company to advertise that its product is made by happy workers. One instinctively suspects a man who is forever talking about the beauty of his home life as being either in process of trying to convince himself of what is not a fact, or of trying to prevent people from wiggling the bones of the family skeleton. It is all well enough to advertise that the milk you sell comes from contented cows — cows do not mind being exploited as contented. They do not read much.

But when a company advertises how contented are its people, it is advertising a conclusion with which its people may not agree. Or, even if the contentment is a fact, the men involved may prefer to be presented, if at all, as human beings and not as a herd of well-fed, trained seals.

Just a Man, After All.

Neither does the worker like to be appealed to, or presented, as a huge paper-capped animal with an inadequate shirt through which bulge muscles that suggest an intensive physical culture course. The manual worker whose opinion really counts no more desires to be stamped as a member of a class than any of the rest of us do. There is no class garb in America. The worker will wear a union button or some other symbol while on the job, but you will not find any such decoration on him when he is parading down the avenue.

The single effect of the idealization of the worker in word or in picture is to help create that class consciousness upon which all proletarian movements are founded. That is the sort of thing the Marx wanted to get over, and it is the chorus of every radical appeal. Such advertising contributes to the class war.

Or again, the advertising may be pitched with the thought of putting "the fear of God" into the mind of the worker through a graphic demonstration that Bolshevism and its activities always destroy and never construct.

We have recovered from our first Bolshevik fright, and probably even the Attorney-General can come upon a red-dogwood tree without wanting it deported. But there is still something of the feeling that if only we show the uninformed worker the utter dreadfulness of endeavoring to change conditions or monkeying with the buzz saw, that then all will be well.

Now the working man does not constitute a distinct public. He does not regard himself as different from any other citizen. The proletariat is a fiction, which can be made a fact only by advertising. There is no

laboring class — out of working hours. No one has ever yet been able to bundle up and deliver the labor vote. So, therefore, when we advertise to labor as a class, we are advertising to a public that does not exist.

That which can be advertised to the general public is the economic truth that wages and profits both come out of the production — that quarrels about distribution are premature if there is nothing to distribute. These truths are of general application, and the need of realizing them is just as acute among managers as among workers. There is not the slightest difference between a union holding up a shop for outrageously high wages and short hours and a management holding up the production so that it may be sold at a high profit. Both are economic cholera and have to be treated as such—although the treatment may vary. Curiously enough, one gets the best results in "writing down" to the average employer in order to get him to read and "writing up" to the average workman so that he may return the compliment you have paid to his intelligence by reading what you have to say.

So much for the general advertising. Within a particular locality or factory the methods may be more intimate, and there is the widest possible field for employees' magazine advertising—provided that the management is willing to deliver what it advertises and is intent not upon satisfying labor, but upon reaching a basis of economic understanding.

Advertising cannot do more than awaken an interest in the goods; it will not make the goods—it is not of itself a labor policy.

And I think that a fair-minded management can, in any dispute in which it is in the right and its workers are in the wrong, settle that dispute by an appeal to public opinion through the newspapers. I am equally certain that this appeal will be most effective if it confines itself to a simple, accurate and comprehensive statement of fact, and, if it further offers to the strikers or to the men on the other side of the dispute a like amount of newspaper space, free of charge, in which to reply. A man in the wrong always insists that he cannot get the ear of the public. Call him — give him the chance!

It is not worth while buying space in which to present untruths. If the urge to advertise to labor cannot be controlled — if it is all consuming—then at least tell the whole world. The most effective advertising to labor, however, says nothing at all about labor. The company that makes a thoroughly honest article and sells it at a thoroughly honest price will rarely have labor trouble, for it will convince its workers of its sincerity. And, on the other hand, a concern that advertises a dishonest article as honest and sells it at a dishonest price must and should expect to have labor trouble. For the workers, being human, will want to be in on the swag.

Canada Again Scene of Mr. Gibbon's Novel

(A Review By ROY CARMICHAEL)

"WHAT a land to fight in," remarked an American character in J. Murray Gibbon's latest novel, "The Conquering Hero." "What a land to fight for," was the hero's retort. Resorting to paraphrase I might comment, "What a land to write in. What a land to write of."

Mr. Gibbon—who, as all readers of the "Railroader" should know, is General Publicity Agent of the C. P. R., and the author of two previous successful novels, "Hearts and Faces," and "Drums Afar," as well as of a thrilling series of historical sketches collected under the title of "Scots in Canada"—has discovered that this broad Dominion, with its vast range and diversity, its stirring history of conquest and discovery, its many races in the melting pot, and the complexity of the problems arising from its rapid development, can provide inspiration for a library yet to be written. Problems and complexities, however, need not worry the reader of this new novel, which is a simple story, enlivened by a touch of melodrama, enriched by descriptions of scenery, episodes and events still fresh in the writer's recollection, and presenting an analysis of the emotional life of a clean-minded young Canadian farmer, wounded, gassed and honorably discharged in the Great War, who returned to find love waiting for him in the Happy Valley of British Columbia.

Sergt. Donald MacDonald, D.C.M., is more fortunate than many returned soldiers. Son of a lawyer-farmer of New Brunswick, descendant of a former officer of the Black Watch, he has been brought up to reverence that gallant regiment, so it is no wonder when war breaks out that he enlists in the 42nd Highlanders of Canada. On his return he is employed as assistant by his uncle, a famous New Brunswick guide, and the story opens with a description of the Hoodoo fishing camp in which a half dozen tired American business men seek surcease from toil and from the jangling tongues of their wives—only one of them being a bachelor.

Into this Eveless paradise enters the Princess Stephanie Sobieska, a moving picture actress, and the manner of her coming is this: "Into the clearing there stepped the slender, graceful figure of a handsome woman in velvet riding-coat and breeches of the blue-grey color of cigarette smoke, with grey boots and gloves and grey velvet roll-brim hat, under which her auburn hair was as a cinder glowing in ashes. In her right hand she carried a riding-whip, which she tapped on her boot as if impatient, or at least uncertain." Next to Donald himself the Princess turns out to be the principal character in the book, and she and Donald are attracted to each other. On

her departure for New York several days later Donald discovers, to his dismay, that his cherished D.C.M. has vanished. Its recovery and what transpires later furnish material for an enthralling narrative, about which all that need be told the reader now is that Donald does not marry the Princess, but that she plays a very vital part in his subsequent love affair with a Scottish V.A.D. whom he ultimately marries.

Outside of the principals there are few characters of importance to the story but these are limned with a Dickensian faithfulness which makes them live in the memory. Hunters in particular will appreciate the portrait of the old guide, Hector, a prince among men, who "carried his fifty-five years lighter than many a man of thirty. So nimble on his feet that he could clog-dance on a floating log, with arms that drove his paddle like pistons, knowing the woods and rivers blindfold—he was, in spite of his unlettered speech, indeed a very perfect gentleman." The choleric old Colonel Mackenzie, who turned to farming without abandoning the out-of-date ideas of caste acquired in service in India, the kind-hearted American architect, Johnson, whom great good fortune befell, the "yellow" Indian poacher, and the calculating maid who essayed a vampire role are faithful pictures. As to Heroine No. 2, whom the hero marries, one is left in doubt about the future. Perhaps one learns too little of her, sees her only struggling with adversity, and should be shown her in a lighter mood, of which only a glimpse is caught when she, much to the reader's surprise, demands of her lover, a Turkish cigarette. She is not so delightfully feminine as the inconsequential Princess, although that lady, too, after defying the conventions and displaying many of the audacities of genius, develops a serious vein which not only expiates any former lapses, but makes the hero's passion for her seem, in retrospect, more than a little ridiculous, however compelling it was on their first encounter.

Of the hero, himself, it may be said that he earned his bride, working for her, if not as long, as least as earnestly, as self-sacrificingly and as generously as Jacob did for either Leah or Rachel. The reader feels that she will make a competent wife for a prosperous farmer, and probably rear a quiver of healthy children—but that obstinate chin may not betoken the cheerfulness of companionship.

Mr. Gibbon may well be envied his photographic memory. His picture of the reception of the 42nd. on their triumphant return to Montreal is one which will live alongside the inspiring description of the great Patriotic Fund banquet in "Drums Afar." The slaying of the moose, the hero's fight with the murderous

Indian, and the horror of the forest fire are typical of his graphic narration, while, in another vein, what could be more felicitous than this? "Lake Louise itself held her for ransom. Chained at her enchanted window, she could have fancied some high priest in the barbaric ritual of a forgotten aeon melting the jewels of ten million queens into this aerial chalice—turquoise, beryl, topaz, amethyst and jade—so that the world could quaff it and be drunk with beauty."

Argus Macdonald's last letter to his son, only to be read after the father's death, is a powerful and moving document, in which the uncommercial side—one might almost say the spiritual motive, of the farmer's life is put foremost. It concludes: "Over in the Old World the seed you sowed was Death. Here in the New World the seed you sow is Life. Better than in any other way you can help your fellow men by harvesting from virgin soil. The

finest life is that of a farmer, and the finest of all farmers is the pioneer who tills the empty lands, breaks and enriches new ground, fills with new life the desolate acres."

I must not forget one of the most original episodes; and one which came within a hairsbreadth of ruining the hero's career—his unsuccessful experiment in cave man practice. The man who dogmatizes about women, who seeks to interpret them by rule or rote, is doomed to failure, and the cave man theorist who reads the concluding chapters will find much to discourage him. The incident is one of the most exciting in a story that has many gripping situations, and quickens the action as the romance approaches its culmination.

"The Conquering Hero" will add many of the list of Mr. Gibbon's appreciative readers. May I utter the hope that it will be followed at no distant date by the great Canadian railway novel?

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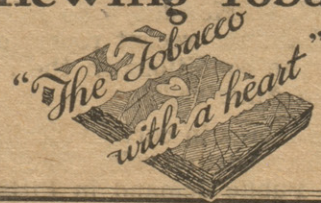
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WEEKLY

The Official Organ of

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

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Attempt to Suppress

IT WILL be remembered that the Railroader published summaries of the sensational findings of the independent Commission of Enquiry, Interchurch World Movement, on the steel strike, and which constituted an indictment of the Steel Trust. Most of the Canadian Labor papers gave news or views, or both, of the report of the Commission; so far as is known, only one Canadian daily paper, the Ottawa Citizen, made effort to present the facts, the others preserving a monumental silence.

There was quite a run on the issues of the Railroader containing the summaries, and enquiries also came in for information as to where copies of the complete report could be got. Enquirers were referred to Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, who are the publishers of the report in book form.

The same forces which fought the publication of the report in the press are covertly at work to prevent or minimize its circulation in book form. The Railroader is informed that to meet this condition in so far as it affects the rank and file of organized labor the Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Ave., New York, has arranged with the publishers to distribute the volume at cost to members of labor unions. Orders for the \$1.50 paper edition if sent through the Bureau will be filled for \$1.00 postpaid. The Bureau was associated with the Commission of Enquiry in the preparation of the report.

Two weeks ago the publishers, Harcourt, Brace & Howe, were ordered by the "Department of Seditious and Radical Literature" of the New York postoffice to send in a copy of the book for examination. It would be interesting to learn who instigated the postoffice to such action and on what ground.

This attitude is in marked contrast to the view of a former government official, W. G. McAdoo, who said in his Labor Day speech at Syracuse that "the recent report of the Inter-church World Movement on the conditions in the steel industry must shock the conscience of America."

At first the book stores in certain localities, Pittsburg notably, refused to put the report on sale. Public demand compelled a change, however. Public demand in Pittsburg also brought on October 26 a change which was almost revolutionary for Pittsburg. The Hungry Club of the city invited Bishop F. J. McConnell, chairman of the Commission of Enquiry, to address them on the report.

The meeting constituted the first open public discussion of the steel strike ever held in Pittsburg outside the Labor Temple

during the strike and one meeting in the Irene Kaufman Settlement. As the bishop was about to begin a dozen of the leading officials of steel companies entered the hall and their stenographer marched to the platform edge and prepared to report the speech verbatim.

The bishop was not intimidated but considered the occasion all the finer opportunity for a full exposition of the report and the commission's dealings with Judge Gary. He spoke for two hours.

Next day the steel men held a meeting to decide what must be done. One of their decisions, it is reported, was that the steel corporation policy of refusing to answer the report must be changed so far as Pittsburg is concerned and a detailed reply made, if possible. Up to this time the charges made in the report have never been refuted or even answered by the steel operators.

The report continues to be called alternately a fascinating history and an epoch-making analysis on the one hand, and, on the other, the work of "Bolsheviks" or "radicals."

—Kennedy Crone

A Pulpit Extremist

REV. DR. JOHN ROACH STRATTON, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, New York, provided entertainment for a record gathering in St. James Methodist Church, Montreal, on Monday evening, by his picturesque and snappy denunciation of the dance. He is the reverend gentleman who got into the news columns some weeks ago for vivid declamations on the same subject. His contention was that all sorts of dancing were of the Devil and should not be compromised with by the Christian Church.

With much that he said about the dangers of certain types of dance halls and some extreme forms of modern dancing, many persons would sympathize. Here is one of his references to the modern dance:—"Just look at the succession that the new dance, the Wesleyan, finds itself in. We have had the French Can-Can, the Argentine Tango, the Boston Dip, the Bear Cat, the Rocking Horse Gallop, Fox Trot, Turkey Trot, Bunny Hug, Hug-me-Tight, San Francisco Glide, Rocker Waltz, Skunk Waltz, Castle Waltz, Dip Glide, Whirling Swing, Gaby Glide, Wiggly Worm, Kitchen Sink, Jazz, Shimmy Shivers, Cigarette Dance, the Cheek-to-Cheek and Grizzly Grapple. And now, as the culmination of this slimp, silly, sensuous stream of moral infamy, we have a dance named for these great saints and heroes of the modern church. It will doubtless be amended in practice and name, and soon turned into The Wesleyan Wiggle, and then next, I suppose, we will have The Episcopal Embrace, The Congregational Canter, the Presbyterian Promenade, and The John the Baptist Bounce."

But, while many persons would hail him as a campaigner against the more obvious dangers of dance halls and dancing, as an extremist he only provides entertainment and accomplishes nothing, alienating even those who would be seriously with him in a more moderate policy. The lone revolutionary in anything, anywhere, rarely makes progress, and the Rev. Dr. John Roach Stratton is a Bolshie of the Bolshies on the subject of dancing. He is going to have his hands full right in his own church, and he will never have any time to spare for revolutionizing the rest of the American Continent. Moderate opinion, which is to say, the overwhelming bulk of public opinion, is not with him in his extreme views, nor can he hope to crusade it to his views. He is much more likely to merely earn a bubble reputation as a curiosity of the pulpit, and to cleave more widely the cleavage between the churches and the people which is already worrying enough to those who wish the churches well.

—Kennedy Crone

The presentation to the Tariff Commission of the statement (pages 4 and 5) from the Trades and Labor Council of Montreal is a matter of considerable satisfaction to the Railroader, for it was in this office that the idea of a scientific advisory board was originally inspired for application to Canadian conditions, and it was the Railroader which for many months alone carried the banners of the idea. Eventually, practically all the trade unions in the country endorsed the plan individually, and recently their collective endorsement was a feature of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

The Housing Problem

NO stronger support of the efforts which have been made in the Canadian Railroader from time to time to direct attention to the urgency of the housing problem, has been given recently in public than that which was contained in an address by the Rev. D. L. Ritchie, principal of the Congregational Theological College in Montreal, when he was speaking on "The Home" in relation to religious education of the young, at a convention on that subject.

Principal Ritchie first showed how in our Christian civilization, the home has always been the very centre of family life on Christian lines, and the essential unit in building up the nation. Further, he threw out a warning that the breaking up of the home idea is the harbinger of national decadence and ultimate downfall of any great country. He spoke of the fact that to-day thousands of young people who might reasonably plan to get married and set up their home, are prevented from doing so, owing to inability to find even the smallest house.

The result, he hinted, was that certain deplorable moral conditions were increasing and daily becoming more acute. He went further, and denounced what too often happens, that even if a young couple find a suitable apartment, they are told that no children are wanted.

It is pleasing to hear those who are in responsible instructive positions thus speaking out their minds, but it could be wished that they might go further and strive not only to mould public opinion, but to translate it somehow into active expression. The comparative failure of the subsidized housing scheme for municipalities, for instance, is tragic when it is seen how every year in February the old problem recurs, whether it is desirable to move to escape the ills that are known or to remain and avoid those that are unknown.

It is not only in relation to the possession of children that pressure is brought to bear upon tenants of apartments. One can tell of cases where tenants are bullied by landlords or by their agent, the all-powerful janitor, in the matter of legitimate rights such as heating. With the first touch of Jack Frost recently a single woman tenant complained that it was cold and that the lease stipulated for the supply of heat. What was the reply of the janitor? First, the stereotyped one, that this was the only complaint from any of the tenants, and, second, that if she was not satisfied with the apartment, there were plenty of prospective tenants waiting to come in next May. The argument that people should be thankful to have a tiny apartment, even if they freeze within it, is an iniquitous one, and to my mind, there should be an appeal to a building inspector or other city inspector to determine whether reasonable heat is being supplied in such cases.

From other academic sources some corroborative testimony as to the bearing of the home or the housing problem upon the nation's welfare. General Sir Arthur Currie, Principal of McGill University, when addressing the Armistice Memorial Service in Christ Church Cathedral on Sunday, November 14th, spoke of the disappointment of men who returned with the one idea of finding a home, and who found that commercial men had been profiteering in their absence. Professor Leacock has also recently written about the need for hostel accommodation for students. Thus from various converging directions comes the accentuated cry for proper study of this all-important question of supplying this young nation with the first requisite of civilized life—a home.

—Caedmon

Prices and Wages

THE Department of Statistics, Ottawa, has issued a preliminary statement showing the position of the manufacturing industries in Canada for the year 1918. This is not up to date, but for comparative purposes the statistics are interesting.

	1917.	1918.
No. of establishments....		35,745
No. of employees.....		666,839
Capital.....	\$2,772,519,680	\$2,891,732,291
Salaries and wages.....	\$ 573,228,856	\$ 599,971,003
Cost of materials.....	\$1,602,000,000	\$1,732,969,101
Value of products.....	\$3,015,000,000	\$3,182,440,719

These figures do not prove that the manufacturers as a class, lost any profits on account of advances in salaries and wages as between the years 1917 and 1918. On the contrary they show that the position of the salaried workers and wage earners suffered a slight deterioration, relatively speaking, as between 1917 and 1918.

For the former year the salaries and wages combined work

out at 19.04 per cent. of the total value of the product; for 1918 salaries and wages work out at 18.8 per cent. of the value of the product.

Deduct the cost of materials from the value of the products, and we get the values added by the manufacturing process, as follows

1917.....	\$1,413,000,000
1918.....	1,449,471,658

While the manufacturer used materials that cost \$131,369,000 more in 1918 than they did in 1917, the manufacturing process only added \$36,472,000 more to the value of the product in 1918 than it did in 1917. The manufacturer's position relative to the produce of materials was considerably more unfavorable in 1918 than it was in 1917, and for the increases in values or prices of the finished products in 1918. The respective responsibilities of the producer of materials and of the manufacturer were about as 4 to 1, so for the period in question the manufacturer appears to have been justified in asserting that the manufacturing process was not the chief cause of advancing prices.

And even less than the manufacturer did the labor involved in the manufacturing process obtain any relative improvement in its position as a result of the increased value of the product. In 1917 the manufacturers to add a value of \$1,413,000,000 to the material used paid out in wages and salaries \$573,228,856; that is the labor cost of the manufacturing process was 40.5 per cent. In 1918 the manufacturers to add a value of \$1,449,472,000 to the material used paid out in salaries and wages \$599,971,003; that is the labor cost of the manufacturing process was 40.1 per cent. Relatively labor engaged in the manufacturing process lost ground.

If the cost of labor was the chief factor in raising prices, then wages and salaries would be an increasing percentage of the value of the product, but government statistics for 40 years or more show that the cost of labor is a slowly declining percentage of the value of the product. If the Government statistics are correct there is no validity in the argument that a decline in prices should be at once accompanied by a decrease in wages.

Colin McKay.

Our Peculiar Sunday

SUNDAY is a queer day in Montreal. On it you can go to a vaudeville or movie show, or witness a baseball match, but you can't get into the Art Gallery or any of the libraries or museums. You can go to a lecture on revolution, but not to a lecture on science. You can't enter a saloon or other liquor establishment, but you can buy bottled wine and the near-equivalent of beer in any drug store. Still, no druggist will sell you alcohol for, say, a maternity case, unless on a doctor's prescription. It is forbidden to buy groceries or other necessities of life, except milk, but you can buy ice cream, soft drinks, candies, chocolates, perfumes, tobacco and newspapers. Although you can buy milk and its luxury product, ice cream, you cannot buy its food products, butter or cheese. You can skate or snowshoe in winter, or swim or canoe in summer, and no one gives your actions more than passing thought, but if your roof leaks and you try to fix it, everyone will be scandalized and the policeman will read you a solemn warning.

—Kennedy Crone

Those left behind gave lives that we might live and grow,
And we in turn give lives to build the lives that come.
Lives are not ours to keep, but get and give, passed to us and passed on.

We lived before, we live, we live again,
In measure as we live in borrowed and in gifted lives.
And never a life lived to itself is living way;
'Tis traitor to the lives gone by, an outlaw now,
And to oblivion condemned for ever after.

—Kennedy Crone

Are you troubled with consipation? If so

Take a glass of

"RIGA"

right away

Best for you

Best for everybody

All leading Doctors perscribe Riga, and all leading Druggists sell it.
Aperient, purgative and laxative according to dose

RIGA PURGATIVE WATER

Wages in Great Britain, 1914-1920

(By MARTIN K. JOHNSON, London Office, International Banking Corporation.)

IN the following short summary I have attempted to show the rise in the rates of wages of the industrial population of Great Britain, as compared with those paid previous to the outbreak of the great European War.

Increases in larger or smaller degree have been granted in all the principal industries during the past five or six years, culminating in the fact that weekly rates of wages ranged in different cases from less than sixty per cent. to over one hundred and fifty per cent. on pre-war rates at the beginning of the year 1919.

Since this date there have been still further increases granted in nearly every grade of industry and the struggle still continues to bring the weekly wage-earning up to something in proportion to the enhanced cost of living, admitted, according to the latest available figures, to be in the neighborhood of one hundred and forty per cent. on pre-war prices.

In order to show how earnings have advanced, I am classifying industry into the following trade groups:

- (a) Building Trades.
- (b) Coal-mining.
- (c) Engineering and Shipbuilding.
- (d) Textile.
- (e) Transport.
- (f) Agricultural.

These six groups will give a fair average and index to the general industry of the country and will show the trend of wages:

(a) Building Trades.

Increases in the building trades have naturally varied considerably in different districts.

In the following table are shown the weekly rates paid on August 4, 1914, and those paid on February 29, 1920, together with the percentage increase:

	Aug. 4, 1914.			Feb. 29, 1920.			Inc'te P.C.
	s.	d.		s.	d.		
Bricklayers.	40	7		83	7		106
Masons . . .	39	8		83	9		111
Carpenters.	39	11		83	5		109
Plumbers . .	39	9		83	9		111
Plasterers . .	40	2		83	9		109
Painters . .	36	3		81	5		124
Laborers . .	26	11		70	3		161

(b) Coal-Mining.

Wages in this industry vary considerably with different classes of workpeople, and the latest available figures tend to show that rates now range from one hundred per cent. up to one hundred and fifty per cent. above the pre-war standard; while the average for all classes is estimated to be between one hundred and twenty to one hundred and twenty-five per cent.

Figures as to the varying rates paid are not available, and the above does not take into account the further general increase which has re-

cently been granted by the Government to the coal-miners, which is believed to amount to a flat all-round increase of 3s. per week.

(c) Engineering and Ship-building.

In these industries advances over the pre-war rates have been granted amounting to 33s. 6d. a week for men on time rates, together with a bonus of twelve and one-half per cent. on total earnings.

In some districts the advance has amounted to as much as 34s. 4 1/2d. where men have been paid by the hour.

For men on piece-work the general advance amounted to 26s. 6d. per week, together with a bonus of seventeen and one-half per cent.

The following table shows the average increase:

	Aug. 4, 1914.		Feb. 29, 1920.		Inc'e P.C.
	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Engineering					
Fitters and Turners .	38	11	82	5	112
Iron- moulders.	41	8	85	6	105
Pattern- makers .	42	1	86	8	106
Laborers. .	22	10	63	11	180
Ship-building					
Platers. . . .	40	4	83	4	107
Riveters . .	37	9	80	5	113
Shipwrights	41	4	84	6	105
Laborers . .	22	10	63	7	178

From the above it will be seen that the average increase is about one hundred and ten per cent. for skilled workers, while that for laborers is as high as one hundred and eighty per cent.

It should here be noted that further general increases in these trades have since been granted, amounting to 6s. per week, to operate in two equal instalments in April and June of this year.

The general increases granted in the engineering and shipbuilding trades have been extended in a large measure to a number of workers in other metal trades, the increases varying in the different occupations from one hundred per cent. to over two hundred per cent. on pre-war rates.

(d) Textiles.

I. Cotton. For workers in this industry, the changes in rates of wages usually take the form of percentage additions to standard piece price lists.

In July, 1914, wages were at five per cent. and by the end of February, 1920, at one hundred and forty-five per cent. above the standard piece-rate.

With regard to this increase, however, it should be noted that thirty per cent. was granted in 1919 concurrently with a reduction in weekly working hours from fifty-five and one-half to forty-eight. On the

average, wages in this industry are about one hundred and five per cent. up on pre-war level rates.

Early in the present year (1920) flat-rate bonuses, varying from £4 to £9, have been granted in the form of monthly instalments, while negotiations are now in progress with a view to a further general advance in rates.

II. Woolen and Worsted. For most of the workers in the Yorkshire district rates rise or fall in conjunction with the cost of living. General increases on basic rates have been also given. The average increase up to February 29 amounts to 125 per cent., with a maximum of 37s. 6d. a week.

In the boot and shoe industry the minimum rate in July, 1914, amounted to 29s. per week, while at the end of February, 1920, this had been increased to 56s. per week, or an increase of between eighty-seven and ninety-three per cent.

It has since been arranged that this minimum rate of 56s. shall be increased to 68s. per week.

(e) Transport.

Railways. From January 1, 1920, revised scales came into force for the principal grades, with the exception of signalmen, drivers, firemen, and cleaners, based on an additional 38s. per week on the pre-war average rate.

Signalmen have received the same increase, while engine-drivers, firemen, and cleaners have been receiving the revised rates which were adopted in August, 1919, while these rates have since been further increased by 1s. per week from November 1, 1919, by 2s. from Decem-

ber 1, and by 3s. from March 1, 1920.

As from August 1, 1919, inspectors, foremen, and other male supervisory staff receive the new scale of pay, rising from £170 per annum, or 65s. 6d. per week, to £350 per annum, or 134s. 6d. per week, with an additional £10, or 4s. per week, for men working in London.

Dock laborers at the principal ports have received advances from 6s. to 8s. per day on their pre-war rates, culminating in the latest award, whereby 16s. per day is the basis rate of pay for men engaged in this class of work.

(f) Agriculture.

Under the provisions of the Corn Production Act of 1917, minimum rates have been fixed for workers in this industry.

The minimum rates for England and Wales in February, 1920, range from 36s. 6d. to 42s. 6d., while in Scotland rates range from 30s. to 42s., and in Ireland from 22s. to 31s. 6d. per week.

The average increase is estimated to be between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and thirty per cent.

Figures as regards the pay of clerical workers throughout the country, which includes something over sixty thousand bankmen, and a very large number of insurance clerks, are not available, though on a conservative basis the average increase amounts to between eighty and one hundred and twenty per cent. over pre-war rates, while in the higher grades of government service it is interesting to note that two hundred and ten officials receive a salary of £2,000 a year, or more.



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The Community Theatre and The Community

(By ETHEL LENORE GNAEDINGER)

ART is universal—or in the ideal state it should be.

Nature spreads her store of beauty, often before unseeing eyes it is true, but there it is, not hoarded behind pretentious doors nor withheld for the price of an exorbitant ticket (with war-tax). If seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, still she spreads before them her lavish riches in ever-changing season, in ever-renewing mood, until some day is painted for every heart the color-scheme that quickens its special need, or the note is sounded that vibrates to the deepest well of pain in every longing soul.

Art is for the people. It is their need and they make it. Who are the artists? Potentates? Diplomats? Merchant princes? Stockbrokers? Rich men? More often, in a plutocratic world they are the poor man or the beggar man. Francis Thompson wrote imperishable things on scraps of paper he withdrew from the refuse of Covent Garden.

Who does not know the inner lives of the greatest of God's craftsmen who have touched the plaintive strings of a world's sorrow, or flamed to living heights the palpitating, crashing symphony in which every note in all the world seems to be sounded in its relationship to every other note in all the world? In what hunger and loneliness have the Lucullan feasts of sound been assembled! And the lives of painters and journeymen builders of the world's fairest temples and fanes—what of the tale of their life narrative? At the sovereign behest of princes and potentates, and at the mercy of them only. But scan the lists of the illustrious purveyors of art, those men living or dead, from whence have they come? What was their recompense?

If, then, these men have contributed so much to nuance the shadows of life—what have we given back?

Community theatres should be, essentially, theatres of the people, for the people, by the people. They arose to supply the need for individual and communal expression. They were a spontaneous manifestation quickened by the need of the community for a dramatic expression and representation unhampered by the octopus-clutch of commercialized theatre rings and managers; a desire to escape into the free air and give life to some of the more subtle and exquisite creations that never find their way through the channels of theatres that pander to more vulgar concepts of life; or to managers who feel themselves bound to make things pay at any cost. Often, unfortunately, at the cost of the only things which count: Art, Beauty, Inspiration and Grace.

According to Locke, community is: a confirmation of the original community of all things. A community is a society of people having com-

mon rights, privileges, civil, political or ecclesiastical, or living under the same laws and regulations.

To-day in Montreal we have a group of earnest men gathered together for the purpose of a community theatre. One regrets to say there are no women included in this directing circle. Are there no women, in a city like Montreal, with a fine sense of line, grouping, enunciation, stage-setting and living expression to warrant their election to the high estate of assistance in the direction of these fine matters? Is it to be supposed that a sex which produced a Rachel, a Duse, a Bernhardt, a Rejane and a Viette Guilbert, is not sufficiently developed to be placed upon the board of a community group, commencing in perhaps the eleventh hour, in a city not too famed for its unfoldment along cultural and artistic lines? But this must be to come at an early date. Meanwhile, society is thankful for an admirable beginning sheltered and sponsored by the University. This gives evidence that the University is commencing to understand its function as the heart of the city, pumping the life-blood through all its veins.

This group of enthusiastic workers is about to present to a small number of the citizens certain interesting and delicate dramas in miniature: one-act plays. They will go before a small number of citizens because the wealth of Montreal has not yet produced a home in which to present the children of the brains of men. By the time this article has gone to press the players will have made their first bow to an interested public, however small, and everyone wishes them the richness of an unlimited success.

But there is something about this community expression that gives one pause. There is a feeling of being so near to the heart of something, and yet so far away from the real heart of it. Is it for a small group of subscribers only that the relief of seeing life played out before them instead of the eternal grind of playing it at its intensest is to be achieved? If we who may know sorrow, but who also know joy and the beauty of aesthetic things, are to receive this respite in the day's march, are there not others who might be thrilled to relief and ultimately to some splendid personal expression under the inspiration of what our players may produce? Are these some wealthy men or women in the community who know the theatres of Milan, of London, of Paris, of New York, who will make known even the small community theatre to the community? Are there those who will bear the expense of a production a week, or a production a month for others who are eager and appreciative, but have no means of enjoying just such pro-

ductions as "The Community Players" are to perform? Remember, these vignettes are rarely seen outside of Washington Square where many people have never sojourned, or in other communities with more enterprise than ours.

Remember that a symphony is a glory of sound in which every note is woven in its relationship to all the other notes. Remember that every living person contributes to the drama or tragedy of a community.

Who is to pay back our debt to art?

(Author's note:—The author of this article is aware that after subscribers like herself are accommodated with seats for the Community Players a certain small number of seats are open to the public at the modest charge of fifty cents. This does not fill the need she is advocating. The idea that is in mind is the Roman "free bread and circuses"; a free night to which admission could be obtained on application from those who are interested, but whose budget for amusement or education remains at a stationary vanishing point.)

Mr. Black picked up his baby boy and exclaimed with fatherly pride: "There now, isn't he just the picture of his father?"

Mr. Brown thought a minute, and replied: "Yes, you're right, but you don't want to let that worry you so long as he's healthy."



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Workers' Education in Britain

(ARTHUR GLEASON in the Survey, New York)

THE spirit of adult education has been stated by Philip Snowden: "I would rather have better education given to the masses of the working classes than the best for a few. 'O God, make no more giants; elevate the race'."

Under 5 per cent. of the children in the elementary schools in England go to a public secondary school. Less than 1 per cent. receive a university education. Not more than 50 per cent. remain at school till they are fourteen years old. An investigation into the industrial population of Sheffield showed that "of the male and female adult manual workers of Sheffield somewhere about one-quarter are well-equipped; somewhere about one-fifteenth are mal-equipped." The need of adult education is due to the failure of a national educational system; the failure of university extension, of evening school classes, of mass-lectures; and the failure of the newspapers. Adult education is one expression of social ferment and the desire for a better social order. Its purpose is to lift the rank and file and to train leaders. It is emphatically not the purpose to lift the workers into the middle class.

The British experience has revealed certain principles in policy and rules in strategy:

The desire for adult education must come from the workers. This desire can be stimulated by appeals and by successful samples.

Controversial subjects (in economics, history and literature) must be included in the curriculum. "No class can afford to disregard either Marshall or Marx," says Albert Mansbridge.

Classes, not lectures, are the method of instruction. The second half of the period is devoted to rapid-fire questions by the students. Each student is a teacher, each teacher is a student.

The classes are run by the students, who "approve" of the tutor, select subjects, and formulate the syllabus. There is equality between teachers and taught, with no touch of upper-class philanthropy.

At all points, the workers must share the control and management of adult education.

The courses favor "a liberal as against a merely bread-and-butter education." The courses are non-vocational. The subjects selected by the students are economics, history, literature, natural science, modern languages, music, drama and art.

The Workers' Educational Association was the resultant of many movements. These were mechanics' institutes, university extension, evening schools, adult schools, the People's College, the co-operatives, Christian socialists, the settlements. It was an attempt to bring together scholarship and labor. It was founded in 1903 by a group of trade unionists, co-operators and university

men. The membership of the Workers' Educational Association in 1918 was 219 branches, 2,256 affiliated bodies (trade unions, "coops," universities), and 17,136 individual members. The individual subscription is one shilling a year.

The chief expression of the Workers' Educational Association has been tutorial classes. These are organized by the Workers' Educational Association and administered by joint committees, consisting of an equal number of university and working class representatives. The joint committee, aided by grants from the state, is the controlling authority of the tutorial class. The classes are financed partly by the universities, partly by grants from the Board of Education and local education authorities. These sources have been supplemented by the Gilchrist Trustees and the Workers' Educational Association.

The class chooses the subject of study and approves the tutor sent by the joint committee. The student pledges himself to attend for two hours a week—one hour for the lecture, one hour for discussion—during twenty-four weeks a year for three years, and to write each fortnight an essay. The tutorial classes were started in 1907. In eleven years, 8,000 students had entered the classes. In 1918-19 there were 152 classes, with 3,799 students.

The Board of Education gives £45 a class for each of three years. The Oxford committee held that a tutor could undertake five classes, and pays £80 a class, or £400 a year for full work. Cambridge pays £72 a class. London pays £60. There are twenty-three universities and colleges interested. The fee paid by a member of a tutorial class averages 2s. 6d. for twenty-four meetings. The universities were to be responsible for one-half the tutors' salaries and travelling expenses. Oxford has met this. Elsewhere less than one-half. The universities are putting up £5,000 a year. Local authorities give £2,000 a year.

Of 303 students in the Oxford classes in 1917-18 fifty-three were trade union officials, twenty-five "coop" officers, eleven on local government boards. A class must not contain more than thirty-two students.

An analysis of contributions to tutorial classes for 1908-13 shows:

From universities	£17,440
Board of Education.....	£12,000
Local education authorities...	£6,100
Other sources (Gilchrist Trustees, co-operative unions, Trades Union Congress, W. E. A.).....	£2,000
	£37,540

The contribution from the Board of Education is now based on a block of £45 a class. This means nearly £7,000 a year.

So far as their means will allow the students purchase their own

books. "Generally it is found possible to arrange that one textbook of moderate price should be possessed by every student; for instance, in many classes all the students had Townsend Warner's Industrial History of England. In every class copies of the principal books necessary are provided. It is usual for the university to which the course is attached to send to the centre a box of books. In addition to this there are available at some centres those books which are in the public library. It is much to be regretted that free libraries do not seem, at any rate in many cases, adequate to meet the demand."

The W.E. A. has a central library of fair size, equipped to supply some of the books required.

The proportion of attendances made to attendances possible is usually 75 per cent. or over. The average composition of a class is twenty-five. Of 3,800 in attendance, about 2,100 are men and 1,700 women. There is no certificate, no examination (except the fortnightly essay), no formality. Freedom of discussion is fundamental.

How adult workers can benefit a teacher and his teaching is revealed in R. H. Tawney's Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century, and Henry Clay's Economics — "both of them based on lectures given in tutorial classes."

After an investigation, A. L. Smith of Balliol College wrote:

"Twenty-five per cent. of the essays examined by him after second year's work in two classes, and first year's work in six classes, were equal to the work done by students who gained first classes in the Final Schools of Modern History. He was astonished, not so much at the quality as at the quantity of the quality of the work done."

Also, by 1913, it could be said, "In the coming discussion in the country on the future of national education, over 5,000 well trained working men and women will take their part." The tutorial classes of the W. E. A. were the first wholehearted recognition of adult education.

In 1899 Ruskin College was established by three Americans—Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard. The governing body was constituted of university men and trade union leaders. The location of Ruskin College is Oxford. Its purpose is the provision of education for adult members of the working class in history, economics, political science, literature, and other branches of the social sciences. It seeks to

(Continued on next page.)

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**WORKERS' EDUCATION IN
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offer "a training in subjects which are essential for working class leadership."

Six hundred students have passed through the college in one and two year courses. There are accommodations for fifty a year. More than 10,000 have carried on the correspondence courses.

The location at Oxford, and the fact that individual subscriptions are necessary to its maintenance, have created a "feeling" against Ruskin in the mind of the "left" of labor. But thoroughly representative leaders on the "right" are on the governing council—such men as James Sexton, Ben Tillett and Robert Young.

The sub-warden of the Labor College says:

"The Labor College teaches the workman to look for the causes of social evils in the material foundation of society; that these causes are economic; that their elimination involves economic changes of such a character as to lead to the eradication of capitalist economy."

The instruction is based largely upon the teachings of Karl Marx. The Labor College is controlled by the board of labor organizations, establishing scholarships. There are four persons on the board from the South Wales Miners' Federation, and two from the National Union of Railwaymen. The college costs £3,200 a year, and the income comes from scholarship fees, raised by the unions. When I visited the Labor College (which is situated in London) in 1919, there were twenty-seven residential students. One thousand students attend the local lecture courses, which are classes held in South Wales, Lancashire, Northumberland, Durham, and industrial centres. There are correspondence courses and lectures by post. All told, the Labor College reaches six thousand students a year.

Two of the famous graduates of the Labor College are Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and Concemore Thomas Cramp, industrial organizer of the National Union of Railwaymen.

A Government Final Report on Adult Education was made under the Ministry of Reconstruction. The committee included the Master of Balliol; Cramp, head of the railwaymen; Frank Hodges and R. H. Tawney. Let us translate that into

American terms and we shall have Prof. Charles Beard, Sidney Hillman, Prof. Edward Ross, John Fitzpatrick, William Duncan of Seattle, President Lowell. This Government Adult Education Committee states concerning such institutions as the Marxian Labor College:

"The state should not, in our opinion, refuse financial support to institutions, colleges and classes merely on the ground that they have a particular 'atmosphere' or appeal specifically to students of this type or that. All that it ought to ask is that they be concerned with serious study.

"The basis of discrimination between education and propaganda is not the particular opinions held by the teachers or the students, but the intellectual competence and quality of the former and the seriousness and continuity of study of the latter."

Technical vocational education is not the chief business of adult education. The committee says:

"Technical education is conceived as a means of improving economic efficiency in the interests of private gain. Technical education must always be a necessary and important part of a national system of education; but, unlike general or humane education, it is not a universal need. Until industry is clearly conceived as a vast organization of co-operative effort, one of the essentials of a sound system of technical education is lacking."

Sacred and Baseball History

Ira Andrews, the newly elected city clerk of Terre Haute, is active in Sunday school work. Last Sunday he advised the children of his class that the morning study would be about Ruth, referring, of course, to the gleaner.

"Now," said Andrews, after introducing the subject, "who can tell me anything about Ruth?"

Up went a little hand in the rear of the class.

"Well, Willie," asked the teacher, "what do you know about Ruth?"

"He made twenty-nine home-runs last season," was the answer.—Indianapolis News.

"I see you have your arm in a sling," said the inquisitive passenger. "Is it broken?"

"Yes, sir," responded the man in the hospital blues.

"Dear, dear! You were wounded, I suppose?"

"No; broke it while trying to pat myself on the back."

"Great Scott! What for?"

"For minding my own business!"

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Robert Smillie

Arthur Gleason, in "What the Workers Want," thus describes Robert Smillie, the leader of the British miners:—

"He is tall and gaunt. His frame is stooped from three-score years of struggle. There is an overhanging quality in him—in his position at the table, in his shoulders, his nose, his eyebrows. His face is seamed from early hardship, with a line down the forehead, and the nose, strong and large, slightly aslant. His is the saddest face I have ever seen, but it is rugged. No one is awkward who has no self-consciousness, and there is a rhythm of natural motion in every gesture as he walks. After the first day, no one doubted who was head of the Coal Commission. The pity of it is that he isn't twenty years younger; great power has come to him when he is old and is indifferent to it.

"His whole personality is full of suffering, and the voice has a cadence of wistfulness, but the man is set in granite, with a fighter's jaw. He talks to premiers as man to man, and no mob has yet howled him down. He is the voice of fifteen hundred thousand men, and he will be heard."

A writer in Ways and Means says: "There is one trait in Smillie which the workman most reveres. He has attained to high distinction, has become a power in the land, and still he lives in the little house in Lark-

hall which was his home in the days when he was an obscure working miner. It is a neat wee house, now his own property, built for about seventy pounds many decades ago by a building society, its original two rooms multiplied by extensions to four rooms as the family—after the fashion of miners' families—increased to seven or eight children. The house stands in the village street, a clean respectable 'row,' but unmistakably a 'row.' Here Smillie may still be met of a week-end, playing the homely host to his multitude of local friends. He signalizes his escape from the Robing Room atmosphere by discarding cigarettes and briars for the plebian clay pipe, and assumes the garb proper to the miner seated at his own fireside at the close of his day's work—the old pair of trousers and vest with the shirt-sleeves rolled up."

FAVORS PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. (L'Action Catholique.)

We have evidently entered upon a system of government by groups. Whether one approves of that system or not, there it is, and the future will in all probability only accentuate it. The best thing to do in the circumstances is to make it as fair and just as possible by assuring to each group a representation based on its numerical strength. The only way in which all the important groups can obtain a just representation is through a reform of the electoral law which would establish proportional representation. The city of

Montreal is at the present time studying that system with the intention of including it in the law of its new charter. Proportional representation already is in existence in the west. The two great political parties which have hitherto shared in turn the government of the Dominion and the provinces stand to gain by this system because it would assure them the active and effective co-operation of all the partisans who remain attached to their principles, even in the counties where they are no longer in the majority.

Lucky Respite.

"Did that heckler annoy you?"
"Not a bit," replied Senator

Sorghum. "The argument I was following up was getting a little bit complicated for me and I was rather glad of an opportunity to turn my end of it over to the police."—Washington Star.

Indefinite

"Is this the hosiery department?" said the voice over the phone.

"Yes," replied the weary saleslady.

"Have you any flesh-colored stockings in stock?" asked the voice.

"Yes," replied the weary saleslady. "Whaddy ya want—pink, yellow, or black?"—Cincinnati Inquirer.

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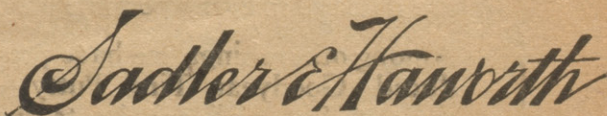
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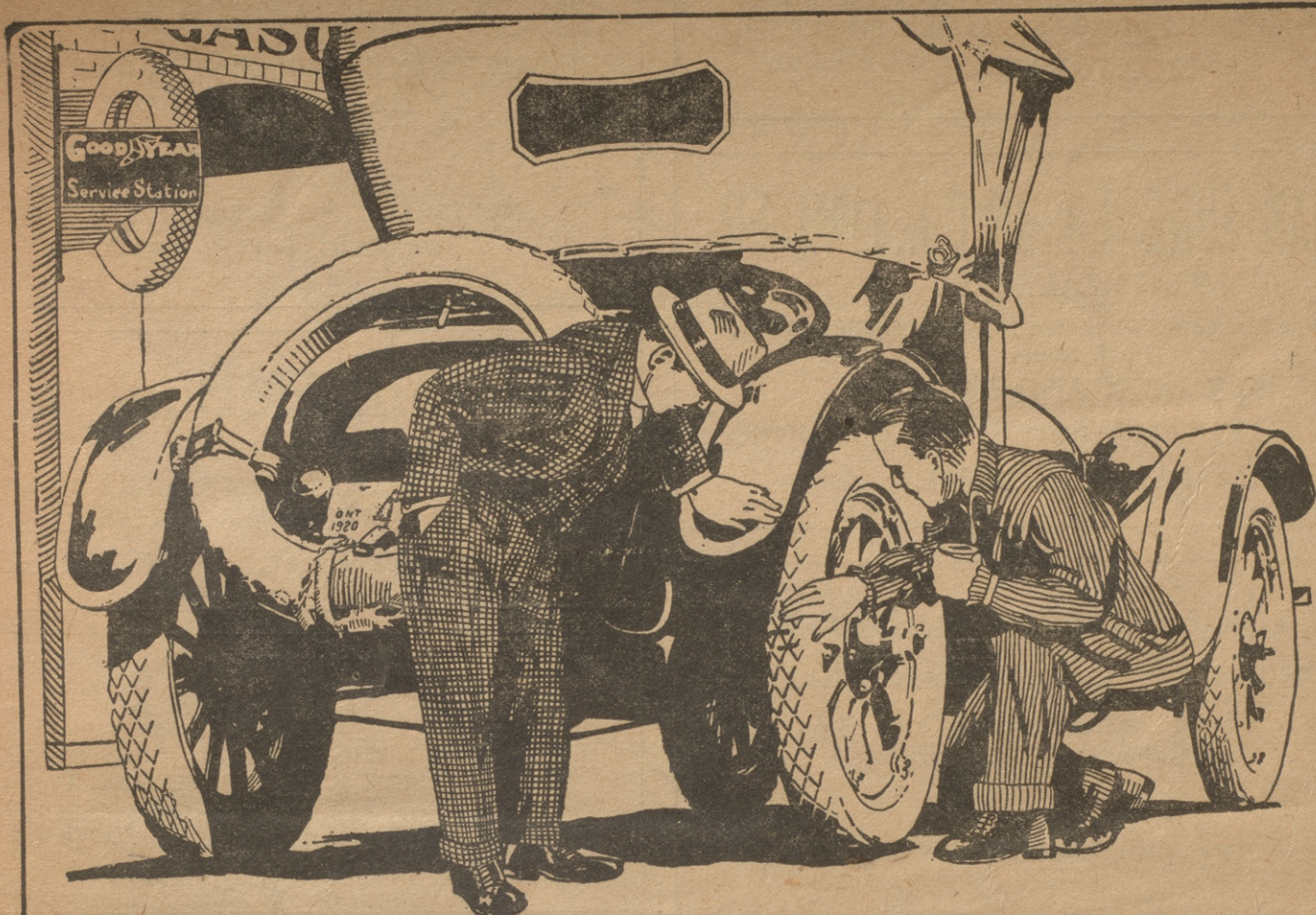
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